

## Message Text

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44

ACTION IO-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 EUR-10 NEA-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 PRS-01 RSR-01

SAJ-01 /060 W

----- 039797

R 251556 Z MAY 73

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8147

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USINT CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1977

LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNSC, XF, YO

SUBJ: SC MEETING ON ME: MEETING WITH YUGOSLAV PERM REP

BEGIN SUMMARY: YUGOSLAV PERM REP MOJSOV SAID HIS GOVERNMENT VERY CONCERNED OVER ME SITUATION. EGYPTIANS HAVE REVEALED FLEXIBILITY AND CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE IN CONTACTS WITH YUGOSLAVS BUT, ABORTIVE SC MEETING WILL CAUSE FURTHER DETERIORATION AND RASH ACT BY EGYPTIANS IS POSSIBLE. PRES TITO HAS BEEN ENCOURAGED BY REPORT FROM CHANCELLOR BRANDT THAT PRES NIXON CONTINUES GIVE ME HIGH PRIORITY AND WISHES US PLAY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN SEARCH FOR PEACE. TITO HAS PASSED THIS INFO TO SADAT. TITO BELIEVES FOUR POWERS HOLD KEY TO MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE AND FAVORS NEW KIND OF FOUR POWER FORUM. MOJSOV STATED VARIOUS NEW MECHANISMS BEING DISCUSSED IN UN HAVE SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES.

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SCALI EXPLAINED US POSITION IN DETAIL AND POURED COLD WATER ON FOUR POWER CONCEPT BUT NOTED GOY COULD PLAY HIGHLY USEFUL CALMING ROLE IN DEBATE. HE REAFFIRMED US DESIRE BE CONSTRUCTIVE IN SC AS WELL AS ME SITUATION

IN GENERAL. END SUMMARY.

IN ABSENCE AMB SCALI, FOLLOWING MEMCON UNCLEARED .

1. YUGOSLAV PERM REP MOJSOV AT HIS REQUEST CALLED ON AMB. SCALI MAY 24. MOJSOV REPORTED THAT HE HAD MET WITH HIS FONMIN FEW DAYS AGO IN LIMA, PERU AND HAD ATTENDED CONFERENCE OF YUGOSLAV LA AMBASSADORS. AT THIS MEETING HE HAD BEEN FULLY BRIEFED BY HIS FONMIN IN LATEST YUGOSLAV CONTACTS WITH EGYPT. MOJSOV STATED THAT PRESIDENT TITO WAS IN CONTINUOUS CONTACT WITH HEADS OF ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND, AS WE KNEW, SADAT HAD VISITED YUGOSLAVIA FEW MONTHS AGO TO CONVEY HIS GREAT CONCERN TO TITO OVER ME SITUATION. THIS VISIT AND CONTACTS SINCE THEN WITH EGYPTIANS HAD GIVEN GOY GENERAL IMPRESSION SITUATION IN ME, ESPECIALLY IN EGYPT, " IS APPROACHING POINT OF GREAT COMPLICATION" IF SOMETHING IS NOT DONE TO GIVE APPEARANCE SEARCH FOR PEACE IS CONTINUING. SITUATION OF NO WAR, NO PEACE IS " UNBEARABLE" FOR EGYPT AND EGYPTIAN LEADERS COULD TAKE DESPERATE DECISION IF NOTHING DONE.

2. YUGOSLAV LEADERS HAVE FOUND THAT EGYPT IS MUCH MORE FLEXIBLE CONCERNING EVENTUAL PEACE SETTLEMENT THAN HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED. EGYPTIANS, HE SAID, WANT " REAL PEACE" AND RECOGNIZE ISRAEL' S NEED FOR SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES. ALSO, EGYPTIANS APPEAR PREPARED FOR VARIOUS ARRANGEMENTS IN SINAI, SUCH AS LARGE DEMILITARIZED ZONES AND POSSIBLY EVEN AN ISRAELI ROLE AT SHARM- EL- SHEIKH.

3. MOJSOV STATED THAT, WHEN HE SAW FONMIN ZAYYAT DURING APRIL SC MEETING, LATTER HAD EMPHASIZED EGYPT WAS NOT ASKING FOR JUST ANOTHER DEBATE. EGYPT WANTED TO MAKE " FINAL ATTEMPT" TO FIND ROAD TO PEACEFUL SOLUTION. ZAYYAT, OF COURSE, DID NOT EXPECT IMMEDIATE RESULTS, BUT DESIRED TO PROBE TO SEE WHAT ARE " REMAINING POSSIBILITIES". HE HAD SAID PRESENT SITUATION CANNOT LAST; SC MUST HELP IN " THIS SEARCH FOR HOPE." LATER IN CONVERSATION MOJSOV REFERRED BACK TO HIS MEETING WITH ZAYYAT AND REPORTED ZAYYAT HAD SAID, IF EGYPT FAILS TO GET ANYTHING FROM SC, IT WOULD BE IN BETTER POSITION UNDERTAKE NEW  
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WAR. EGYPT WOULD BE DEFEATED, ZAYYAT ADMITTED, BUT AT LEAST NEW SITUATION WOULD BE CREATED. YUGOSLAVS HAVE CONCLUDED, MOJSOV SAID, THAT, IF SC FAILS TO FIND " NEW HOPE", SITUATION IN ME WILL DETERIORATE RAPIDLY AND EXTREMISM WILL BE INCREASED, INCLUDING ACTS OF TERRORISM.

4. SCALI SAID THAT WE SHARE IN PART YUGOSLAV VIEW TENSION IN AREA IS INCREASING; SITUATION IS NOT A HAPPY ONE. WITHIN SC CONTEXT MUCH DEPENDS, HE STATED, ON APPROACH, ATTITUDE, AND OBJECTIVES OF EGYPT-- WHICH WAS PARTY LOW- KEY AND REASONABLE DEBATE WHICH DOES NOT ADD TO TENSIONS. WE AGREE SC MUST HOLD OUT SOME HOPE; CONTINUING DEADLOCK WILL INCREASE TENSIONS. SCALI COMMENTED THAT WE WERE VERY ENCOURAGED BY MOJSOV' S COMMENT

THAT EGYPT IS CONCILIATORY AND APPARENTLY PREPARED FOR SERIOUS CONCESSIONS. US BELIEVES, HE CONTINUED, THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE TO MAKE ADDITIONAL CONCESSIONS AND OUR APPROACH WILL BE TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO DO SO. AT PRESENT US UNABLE MAKE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS CONCERNING SC DEBATE UNTIL WE HEAR WHAT EGYPTIANS WANT. YUGOSLAVIA IN THIS SITUATION HAS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY PLAY CALMING AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE TO KEEP ARABS FROM EXTREMIST POSITIONS.

5. SCALI EXPRESSED HOPE THAT EGYPT AND OTHERS WILL NOT WISH ALTER BALANCE OF RES 242 SINCE IT IS ONLY BASIS FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION SUPPORTED BY BOTH SIDES. US WOULD STRONG OPPOSE ANY SUCH INITIATIVE. IF EFFORT IS MADE REDRAFT RES, OR REINTERPRET IT, OR ADOPT PUNITIVE MEASURES, ME SITUATION WILL BE SET BACK. SCALI STRESSED THAT IT WOULD BE SERIOUS ERROR FOR ARABS AND OTHERS TO CONCLUDE THAT US HAS DOWNGRADED ITS BELIEF THAT ME IS HIGHLY VOLATILE AREA, WHICH HAS HIGHEST PRIORITY WITHIN USG. " YEAR OF EUROPE" DEFINITELY DOES NOT MEAN ANY CHANGE IN PRIORITY GIVEN TO ME BY HIGH US OFFICIALS.

6. MOJSOV REPLIED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS AWARE OF THIS VIEW. DURING RECENT BRANDT- TITO TALKS, TITO HAD ASKED BRANDT TO TRANSMIT HIS GREAT CONCERN OVER ME TO PRESIDENT NIXON DURING BRANDT- NIXON TALKS AND TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER PRES INTENDED CONTINUE EFFORTS FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. FOLLOWING BRANDT' S RETURN TO GERMANY, HE HAD SENT LETTER TO TITO STATING THAT HE WAS VERY SATISFIED WITH HIS TALKS WITH PRES NIXON FOR HE HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCE US NOT SATISFIED WITH PRESENT ME SITUATION, IT IS VERY CONCERNED AND IT READY TO CONTRIBUTE  
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TO SEARCH FOR PEACE. TITO HAD TRANSMITTED TO SADAT THESE INDICATIONS OF CONTINUING US INTEREST.  
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ACTION IO-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 EUR-10 NEA-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 PRS-01 RSR-01

SAJ-01 /060 W  
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R 251556 Z MAY 73  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8148  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USINT CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 1977

LIMDIS

7. TITO, MOJSOV CONTINUED, HAS " BEEN GIVING MUCH THOUGHT TO WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO LESSEN TENSIONS AND GET DIPLOMATIC PROCESS UNDERWAY." HE HAD CONCLUDED THAT FOUR POWERS COULD STILL PLAY SIGNIFICANT ROLE. TITO WAS THINKING NOT OF RESUMPTION OF OLD FOUR- POWER FORUM, WHICH HAD FAR TOO OFTEN BEEN USED FOR POLITICAL AND PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGES, BUT RATHER A SPECIAL EFFORT BY FOUR TO PLAY MEDIATORY OR GOOD OFFICER ROLE. FOUR POWERS COULD, TITO THOUGHT, LIST POINTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN ME PARTIES AS WELL AS POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT AND THEN USE THEIR RESPECTIVE INFLUENCE TO DECREASE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE. TITO HAD MADE THIS SUGGESTION TO SADAT WHO, ALTHOUGH SKEPTICAL, GAVE GREEN LIGHT.

8. MOJSOV SAID THAT MUCH OF UN TALK REVOLVED AROUND VARIETY OF NEW MECHANISMS. YUGOSLAVIA DID NOT BELIEVE JARRING COULD BE REACTIVATED ON OLD LINES. CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF  
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OTHER IDEAS FOR NEW MECHANISMS REVEALED SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES. YET, CLEARLY, SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE IN VIEW OF PRESENT DANGEROUS ME SITUATION. YUGOSLAVIA AGREED RES 242 SHOULD NOT BE UNDERMINED; NOTHING BETTER COULD BE DRAFTED AND YUGOSLAVIA HAD PASSED THIS VIEW TO EGYPT.

9. LOOKING AHEAD TO DEBATE, MOJSOV NOTED THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS TO SC CONSIDERATION: A) PUBLIC DEBATE WHICH IS OFTEN MEANT FOR HOME- CONSUMPTION; B) BEHIND THE SCENES NEGOTIATIONS. YUGOSLAVIA WILL NOT BE DISTURBED IF PUBLIC RHETORIC IS AT HIGH LEVEL FOR THAT IS NATURAL, BUT BELIEVES EGYPT WILL BE FLEXIBLE IN REAL NEGOTIATIONS BEHIND SCENES. SCALI REPLIED THAT US " FAILS TO BE EXCITED" BY NEW MECHANISMS FOR EACH HAS, AS MOJSOV STATED, SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES. US ALSO HELD STRONG VIEW THAT REVIVAL OF FOUR- POWER FORUM WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL. FOUR POWERS, SCALI SAID, COULD NOT IMPOSE SETTLEMENT AND WERE FACED WITH SAME DIFFICULTIES WHICH JARRING OR ANY OTHER MECHANISM CONFRONTED. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARTIES ARE SO WIDE THAT US HAD TO BE STRONGLY SKEPTICAL THAT ANY UN MECHANISM CAN GIVE " HOPEFUL THRUST" TO SEARCH FOR PEACE. US CONTINUES BELIEVE INTERIM ARRANGEMENT REPRESENTS BEST HOPE OF UNFREEZING PRESENT DEADLOCK.

10. SCALI REITERATED POINT THAT CONCESSIONS BY BOTH SIDES WILL PROVE NECESSARY. HE NOTED THAT PRES NIXON AND BREZHNEV WILL UNDOUBTEDLY DISCUSS ME AT SUMMIT MEETING IN JUNE. HE BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD BE MOST USEFUL TO AVOID HEATING UP ME SITUATION PRIOR TO NIXON- BREZHNEV DISCUSSIONS WHICH SHOULD BE HELD IN AS HARMONIOUS AND ATMOSPHERE AS POSSIBLE. SCALI SAID HE RECOGNIZED MANY SC SPEECHES WERE INTENDED FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION, BUT IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS " TO PULL OUT ALL STOPS". IN CONCLUSION SCALI EXPRESSED PLEASURE THAT GOY AND US WERE BOTH DEEPLY INTERESTED IN FINDING PRACTICAL WAYS TO MOVE TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. HE NOTED THAT IF HIGH- LEVEL US CONCERN WERE KNOWN TO ARABS, THIS COULD LESSEN CURRENT FEELING OF DESPAIR.

SCALI

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**TAGS:** UNSC, XF, YO  
**To:** STATE INFO AMMAN  
BEIRUT  
BELGRADE  
LONDON  
MOSCOW  
PARIS

TEL AVIV  
CAIRO

**Type:** TE

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